TREATISE

OF

CLEMENCY

BY

LUCIUS ANNÆUS SENECA
the Philosopher.

Address'd to NERO in the Beginning of his Reign.

Done into English by Sir Roger L'Estrange.

Ignovit Abavus tuus Victis; nam si non ignovisset quibus imperasset? Domitios, Messalas, Asinios, Cicerones, & quidquid storis in Civitate erat Clementia sua debebat.

Seneca de Clementia, Cap. 10.

Ego vero Clementiam non voco lassam crudelitatem. Hac est,
Cæsar, Clementia vera quam tu prastas, qua non savitia pamitentia capit: Nunquam habere Maculam, nunquam Civilem
Sanguinem sudisse.

Seneca de Clementia, Cap. 11.

EDINBURGHAT INTON

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The PREFACE.

whether the Misery they are under be deserved or not: The greater the Misery of the Afflicted is, the more Men are apt to be mov'd to Compassion, and dispos'd to apply to others for their Relief, when it is not immediately in their own Power to give them Ease: Especially if the Persons in these miserable Circumstances are such as formerly have been in an easy and happy Condition; such as are descended of Virtuous and Brave Ancestors; such as have always had the Character of Virtuous Persons themselves, endure their present Miseries with a Manly and Christian Fortitude, and are brought into a miserable Condition, rather by the Presudices of Education, than by any Vicious Dispositions in themselves. Now this seems to be plainly the Case of many of the State Prisoners and Exiles.

Their being unhappely engaged in the late Insurrection, good Natur'd and charitable People will impute to the Prejudices of Education, which were deeply Rooted; and therefore could not but much incline them to the Unhappy Cause they espoused. Their Parents and Teachers, had often, no doubt, in the most lively and affecting Manner, represented to them the Antiquity, Lustre and Dignity; all the Virtues, but especially the Endearing Clemency of the Royal Family of the STEWARTS. They had inculcated the Hereditary and Indefeafible Right of Kings, the extraordinary Merit of the Pretender, the War, the Taxes, and all the Miferies which they alledge will be entailed on the Country, while he is deprived of bis pretended Right. And on the other Hand, we may easily imagine they industriously kept out of their View the proper Powers of the People, the Nature of a Parliamentary Right, the Wisdom and Virtues of our most Gracious Sovereign K. George, the incomparable Blessings of the Protestant Religion, our Civil Rights and Liberties preserv'd by His Accession to the Throne, and by His wise Administration of the Government secured to our Posterity.

Being

Being thus miserably misled, it is no Wonder if they are generaly pitied, and Endeavours us'd to bring about their Rehef. The publishing of Books and Pamphlets that persuade to Mercy, is one of the Means that have been us'd for obtaining that End. The First of this Kind that appear'd, was the Argument to prove the Affections of the People to be the best Security of the Government; which is faid to be written by one of the ablest Statesmen in Britain. In it the Noble Author pleads the Cause of the Miserable, and demonstrates, That it will be more for the Security and Interest of the Government to pardon, than to punish them. A new Impression of King Charles Il's Proclamation, dated the 14th August 1679. Indemnifying the Rebels concern'd in the Insurrections at Pentlandhills and Bothwelbridge, providing they enacted themselves not to bear Arms against the King or his Authority, was the next that was publish'd; and was certainly design'd chiefly for the Use of the King's Counsellors. A Third which appeared, was the Memorial concerning the State of the Prisoners on Account of the late Rebellion. This is said to be done by a Person of considerable Note: And indeed every Thing in it, the Justness of Thought, the Perspicuity and Politoness of Expression, the Strength of Argument; but above all, the benevolent and good Temper that runs three the whole of it, do, in a great Measure, confirm the common Rumour. Soon after these follow'd a Book, entitled, Mercy Now or Never. In which the Author difcovers a Deal of Reading, Knowledge of the Laws, and good Sense: But some unguarded Expressions in it have expos'd the Author to the Displeasure and Prosecution of the Government. Perhaps the Profecution also may be owing to the Piques and Resentments of People, who, the they profess to pursue the common Interest of the Government, yet sometimes sacrifice it to their own private Quarrels. Or, if one may be allow'd to offer another Conjecture on this Head, Perbaps, because the Indemnity bad not then been spoken of, the King's gracious and merciful Temper was not sufficiently known: Perhaps they thought Mercy would not found well in his Ears: Perhaps they thought the Profecution of all wbo foodld mention it would be grateful to bim; and, perhaps, fuch People would have willingly facrificed their Country and Countrymen, to their own Mistakes of the King's Inclinations. But now we have nothing to fear from that Quarter; the King has publickly declared His gracious Intentions of granting an Indemnity; we are sufficiently safe then, and swim with the Stream when we publish this Book of Clemency: The Author whereof, was one of the most Famous among the Ancient Philosophers, and some Fathers of the Church are of Opinion, that he corresponded with St. Paul, and was a Convert to Christianity. This is certain, that in this Treatife he shews more of a true Christian Spirit, than those do who would be distinguished from others as the strictest Sort of Christians.



Tears of my Friend, yet

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OF

CLEMENCY.

HE Humanity, and Excellence of this Virtue, is confess'd at all Hands, as well by the Men of Pleasure, and those that think every Man was made for himself, as by the Stoicks, that make Man a Sociable Creature, and born for the common Good of Mankind: For it is, of all Dispositions, the most Peaceable and Quiet. But before we enter any further upon the Discourse, it would be first known what Clemency is, that we may distinguish it from Pity: Which is a Weakness, tho' many Times mistaken for a Virtue: And the next Thing will be, to bring the Mind to the Habit and Exercise of it.

CLEMENCY is a favourable Disposition of the Clemen-Mind, in the Manner of inflicting Punishment; Or, ey defin'd. A Moderation, that remits somewhat of the Penalty incurr'd. As Pardon is the total Remission of a descro'd Punishment. We must be careful not to confound Clemency with Pity; for as Religion worthips GoD, and Superstition prophanes that Worship; so should we distinguish betwixt Clemency and Pity; Practifing the One, and Avoiding the Other. For Pity proceds from a Narrowness of Mind, that respects rather the Portuge than the Caufe! It is a Kind of Moral Sicknels, contracted from other Peoples Misfortunes: Such another Weakness as Laughing, or Yawning for Company, or as that of fick Eyes, that cannot look upon others that are blear'd. without dropping themselves. I'll give a Shipwrack'd-Man I Plank, a Lodging to a Stranger, or a Piece of Money to

him that wants it: I will dry up the Tears of my Friend, yet I will not weep with him, but treat him with Constancy and Humanity, as one Man ought to treat another.

It is objected by some, that Clemency is an Clemency is Proinfignificant Virtue; and that only the Bad are fitable for all. the Better for't; for the Good have no need on't. But, in the first Place; as Physick is in Use only among the Sick, and yet in Honour with the Sound; so the Innocent have a Reverence for Clemency, tho' Criminals are properly the Objects of it. And then again, a Man may be Innocent, and yet have Occasion for it too: For, by the Accidents of Fortune, or the Condition of Times, Virtue it felf may come to be in Danger. Confider the most populous City or Nation; What a Solitude would it be, if none should be left there but those that could stand the Test of a severe Justice We should have neither Judges nor Accusers: None either to grant a Pardon, or to ask it. More or less, we are all Sinners; and he that has best purg'd his Conscience, was brought by Errors to Repentance. And it is further Profitable to Mankind; for many Delinquents come to be converted. There is a Tenderness to be us'd, even toward our Slaves, and those that we have bought with our Money; How much more then, to free and to honest Men, that are rather under our Protection, than Dominion? Not that I would have it fo General neither, as not to distinguish betwixt the Good and the Bad, for that would introduce a Confusion; and give a Kind of Encouragement to Wickedness. It must therefore have a Respect to the Quality of the Offender, and separate the Curable from the Desperate; for it is an equal Cruelty to pardon All, and to pardon None. Where the Matter is in Balance, let Mercy turn the Scale:

Clemency does well in private Perfons, but 'tis more Beneficial in Princes.

If all wicked Men should be punish'd, who should escape? THO' Mercy and Gentleness of Nature keeps all in Peace and Tranquillity, even in a Cottage; yet is it much more Beneficial and Conspicuous in a Palace. Private Men in their Condition, are likewise Private in their Virtues



and in their Vices: But the Words and the Actions of Princes, are the Subject of Publick Rumour; and therefore they had need have a Care what Occasion they give People for Difcourfes, of whom People will be always a talking. There is the Government of a Prince over his People, a Father over his Children, a Master over his Scholars, an Officer over his Soldiers. He is an unnatural Father, that for every Triffle beats his Children. Who is better Master, he that rages over his Scholars, for but miffing a Word in a Lesson; or he that tries by Admonition and fair Words, to instruct and reform them? An outragious Officer makes his Men run from their Colours. A skillful Rider brings his Horse to Obedience, by mingling fair Means with foul; whereas to be perpetually fwitching and spurring, makes him Vicious and Jadish: And shall we not have more Care of Men than of Beafts? It breaks the Hope of generous Inclinations, when they are depres'd by Servility and Terrour. There is no Creature for hard to be pleas'd with ill Usage, as Man.

with Princes, for it makes their Power Comfortable and Beneficial, which would otherwise be the Pest of Mankind. It establishes

Mercy is the Interest both of Prince and People.

wife be the Pest of Mankind. It establishes their Greatness, when they make the Good of the Publick their particular Care, and employ their Power for the Safety of the People. The Prince, in Effect, is but the Soul of the Community; as the Community is only the Body of the Prince: So that in being Merciful to others, he is Tender of himself: Nor is any Man so mean, but his Master feels the Loss of him, as a Part of his Empire. And he takes Care, not only of the Lives of his People; but also of their Reputation. Now, giving for granted, that all Virtues are in themselves Equal, it will not yet be deny'd, that they may be more Beneficial to Mankind in one Person, than in another. A Beggar may be as Magnanimous as a King: For, what can be Greater or Braver, than to baffle ill Fortune! This does not hinder, but that a Man in Authority and Plenty, has more Matter

(4)

Matter for his Generosity to work upon, than a private Person: And it is also more taken notice of upon the Bench, than upon the Level. When a gracious Prince shews himself to his People, they do not fly from him as from a Tyger that had rouz'd himself out of his Den; but they worship him as a Benevolous Influence, they fecure him against all Conspiracies, and interpose their Bodies betwixt him and Danger. They guard him while he fleeps, and defend him in the Field against his Enemies. Nor is it without Reason, this unanimous Agreement in Love and Loyalty; and this Heroical Zeal of Abandoning themselves for the Safety of their Prince; but it is as well the Interest of the People. In the Breath of a Prince there is Life and Death; and his Sentence stands good, Right or Wrong. If he be Angry, no Body dares advise him; and if he does Amis, who shall call him to Account? Now, for him that has so much Mischief in his Power, and yet apblies that Power to the common Utility and Comfort of his People, diffusing also Clemency and Goodness into their Hearts too: What can be a greater Bleffing to Mankind than fuch a Prince? Any Man may kill another against the Law, but only a Prince can fave him fo. Let him so deal with his own Subjects, as he desires Gop should deal with him: If Heaven fhould be Inexorable to Sinners, and deftroy all without Mercy, What Flesh could be safe? But, as the Faults of great Men are not prefently punish'd with Thunder from Above. let them have a like Regard to their Inferiors here upon Earth. He that has Revenge in his Power, and does not use it, is the Great Man. Which is the more beautiful and agreeable State, that of a Calm, a Temperate, and a Clear Day; or that of Lightning, Thunder, and Tempelts? And this is the very Difference betwixt a moderate and a turbulent Government. 'Tis for low and Vulgar Spirits to Brawl, Storm, and Transport themselves; but 'tis not for the Majesty of a Prince to lash out into Intemperance of Words: Some will think it rather Slavery than Empire, to be debarr'd Liberty of Speech: And what if it be when Government it felf is but a more illu**ftrious**

ftrious Servitude? He that useth his Power as he should, takes as much Delight in making it Comfortable to his People, as Glorious to himself. He is Affable, and easie of Accels; his very Countenance makes him the Joy of his Peoples Eyes, and the Delight of Mankind. He is Belov'd, Defended, and Reverenc'd by all his Subjects; and Men fpeak as well of him in Private as in Publick: He is fafe without Guards, and the Sword is rather his Ornament, than his Defence: In his Duty, he is like that of a good Father, that fometimes gently reproves a Son, fometimes threatens him; nay, and perhaps corrects him: But no Father in his right Wits, will difinherit a Son for the first Fault: There must be many and great Offences, and only desperate Consequences that should bring him to that Decretory Resolution: He will make many Experiments, to try if he can reclaim him first, and nothing but the utmost Despair must put him upon Extremities. It is not Flattery that calls a Prince the Father of his Country: The Titles of Great and August are Matter of Complement, and of Honour; but in calling him Father, we mind him of that Moderation and Indulgence, which he owes to his Children. His Subjects are his Members; where, if there must be an Amputation, let him come flowly to it; and when the Part is cut off, let him wish it were on again: Let him grieve in the doing of it. He that palfes a Sentence Haftily, looks as if he did it Willingly; and then there is an Injustice in the Excels.

first to consider the vast Multitudes of his The blessed Reflections of a Mercephe, whose Seditions, divided and impodiful Prince. tent Passions, would cast all in Consusion, and destroy themselves, and publick Order too, if the Band of Government did not restrain them: And thence to pass to the Examination of his Conscience, saying thus to himself. It is by the Choice of Providence that I am here made GOD's Deputy upon Earth; the Arbitrator of Life and Death, and that upon my Breath depends the Fortune of my People. My Lips are the Oracles

Oracles of their Fate, and upon them hangs the Destiny both of Cities and of Men. It is under my Favour that People leek for either Prosperity or Protection: Thousands of Swords are drawn or sheath'd at my Pleasure. What Towns shall be advanc'd or desiroy'd; who skall be Slaves, or Free, depends upon my Will; and yet in this Arbitrary Power of Acting without Controll, I was never transported to do any cruel I ling, either by Anger or bot Blood, in my Self, or by the Rashness or Provocations of other Men; tho' sufficient to turn Mercy it self into Fury. I was never mov'd by the odicus Vanity of making my self Terrible by my Power (that accurred (the common) Humour of Oftentation and Glory, that haunts imperious Natures.) My Sword has not only been bury'd in the Scabbard, but in a Manner bound to the Peace, and tender even of the cheapest Blood: And where I find no other Motive to Compassion, Humanity it felf is sufficient. I have been always flow to Severity, and prone to forgive and under as strict a Guard to observe the Laws, as if I were accountable for the Breaking of them. Some I pardon'd for their Youth; Others for their Age. I spare one Man for his Dignity, another for his Humility; and when I find no other Matter to work upon, I spare my Self. So that if GOD should at this Instant call me to an Account, the whole World would agree to witness for me, That I have not by any Force, either Publick or Private; either by my Self, or by any Other, defrauded the Common-Wealth; and the Reputation that I have ever fought for, has been that which few Princes have obtain'd, The Conscience of my proper Innocence. And I have not lost my Labour neither, for no one Man was ever so dear to another, as I have made my Self to the whole Body of my People. Under such a Prince the Subject has nothing to wish for, beyond what he enjoys; their Fears are quieted, and their Prayers heard; and there is nothing can make their Felicity Greater, unless to make it Perpetual: And there is no Liberty deny'd to the People, but that of destroying one. the Chine of Providence that I am I my mile G. D'radtons been I amb the Arbitrator of Life and Death and that are a

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IT is the Interest of the People, by the Upon the Well-Consent of all Nations, to run all Hazards for being of the Prince depends the Safety for the Safety of their Prince, and by a thouof the People. fand Deaths to redeem that one Life, upon which so many Millions depend. Does not the whole Body serve the Mind, tho' only the One is expos'd to the Eye, and the Other not; but, Thin and Invisible, the very Seat of it being uncertain? Yet the Hands, Feet and Eyes, observe the Motions of it: We lie down, run about, and Ramble, as that commands us. If we be Covetous, we fish the Seas, and ranfack the Earth for Treasure: If Ambitious, we burn our own Flesh with Scavola; we cast our selves into the Gulph with Curtius: So would that vast Multitude of People, which is Animated but with one Soul, Govern'd by one Spirit, and Mov'd by one Reason, destroy it self with its own Strength, if it were not supported by Wisdom and Government. Wherefore it is for their own Security, that the People expose their Lives for their Prince, as the very Bond that ties the Republick together; the vital Spirit of to many Thousands, which would be nothing else but a Burthen and a Prey without a Governour. When this Union comes once to be dissolv'd, all falls to Pieces; for Empire and Obedience must Stand and Fall together. It is no Wonder then, if a Prince be Dear to his People, when the Community is wrapt up in him, and the Good of Both as inseparable as the Body and the Head; the One for Strength, and the Other for Counsel: For, what signifies the Force of the Body without the direction of the Understanding? While the Prince Watches, his People Sleep; His Labour keeps them at Ease, and his Business keeps them at Quiet. The natural Intent of Monarchy appears even from the very Discipline of Bees; They affign to their Master the fairest Lodgings, the fafest Place, and his Office is only to see that the rest perform their Duties. When the King is Lost, the whole Swarm Dissolves: More than One they will not admit ;

and then they contend who shall have the Best: They are, of all Creatures, the Fiercest for their Bigness; and leave their

Stings

Stings behind them in their Quarrels : Only the King himfelf has none, intimating, That Kings should neither be Vindictive nor Cruel. Is it not a Shame, after fuch an Example of Moderation in these Creatures, That Men should be yet Intemperate? It were well if they loft their Stings too in their kevenge, as well as the Other, that they might hurt but Once, and do no Mischief by their Proxies. It would tire then out, if either they were to execute All with their own Hands, or to wound Others, at the Peril of their own Lives. A Prince should behave himself Generously

The Prince that

in the Power which God has given him, of is Gracious, is Be- Life and Death; especially toward those that have been at any Time his Equal; for the One has his Revenge, and the other his Punishment in't. He that stands indebted for his Life, has lost it; but he that receives his Life at the Foot of his Enemy, lives to the Honour of his Preferver: He lives the lasting Monument of his Virtue; whereas, if he had been led in Triumph, the Spectacle would have been quickly over. Or, what if he should restore him to his Kingdom again; Would it not be an ample Accession to his Honour, to shew that he found nothing about the Conquer'd that was worthy of the Conqueror? There's. nothing more Venerable than a Prince that does not Revenge an Injury. He that is Gracious, is Belov'd, and Reverenc'd as a common Father; but a Tyrant stands in Fear, and in Danger even of his own Guards. No Prince can be fafe of himfelf, of whom all Others are Afraid; for to spare None, is to enrage All. 'Tis an Error to imagine, that any Man can be fecure, that fuffers no Body else to be so too. How can any Man endure to lead an uneasie, suspicious, anxious Life, when he may be Safe, if he pleafes, and enjoy all the Bleffings of Power, together with the Prayers of his People ? Clemency protects a Prince without a Guard; there's no need of Troops, Castles, or Fortifications: Security on the one Side, is the Condition of Security on the Other; and the Affections of the Subjects, are the most invincible Fortress. What can be

Fairer.

Fairer, than for a Prince to live the Object of his Peoples Love, to have the Vows of their Hearts, as well as of their Lips; and his Health and Sickness, their common Hopes and Fears; There will be no Danger of Plots: Nay, on the Contrary, who would not frankly venture his Blood to serve him, under whose Government, Justice, Peace, Modesty, and Dignity Flourish; under whose Instuence Men grow Rich and Happy; and whom Men look upon with such Veneration, as they would do upon the immortal Gods, if they were capable of seeing them? And, as the true Representative of the Almighty, they consider him, when he is Gracious and Bountiful, and employs his Power to the Advantage of his Subjects.

WHEN a Prince proceeds to Punishment, it must be ei-

ther to Vindicate himself or Others. It is a hard Matter to govern himself in his own Case, If a Man should advise him not to be Credul-

Where Punishment is Necessary, let it be Moderate.

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ous, but to examine Matters, and Indulge the Innocent, this is rather a Point of Justice than of Clemency: But, in Case that he be manifestly Injur'd, I would have him Forgive where he may Safely do it, and be Tender even where he cannot Forgive: But far more Exorable in his own Case however, than in anothers. 'Tis nothing to be Free of another Man's Purse; and 'tis as little to be Merciful in another Man's Cause. He is the great Man that Masters his Passion where he is stung himself; and Pardons when he might Destroy. The End of Punishment, is either to Comfort the Party injur'd, or to secure him for the Future.

A Prince's Fortune is above the need of such a Comfort; and his Power is too Eminent to seek an Advance of Reputation, by doing a private Man a Mischief. This I speak, in Case of an Affront from those that are below us: But he, that of an Equal, has made any Man his Inseriour, has his Revenge in the bringing of him down. A Prince has been kill'd by a Servant, destroy'd by a Serpent; but whosoever preserves a Man, must be greater than the Person that he preserves.

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With Citizens, Strangers, and People of low Condition, a Prince is not to contend, for they are beneath him : He may spare some, out of Good-will, and others, as he would do fome little Creatures that a Man cannot touch without fouling his Fingers: But for those that are to be Pardon'd, or expos'd to publick Punishment, he may use Mercy as he sees Occasion; and a generous Mind can never want; Inducements or Motives to it: And whether it be Age or Sex, High or

Low, nothing comes amis.

To pass now to the Vindication of Others. The Ends of there must be had a Regard, either to the A-Puni foment. mendment of the Person punish'd, or the making of Others better for fear of Punishment; or the taking the Offenders out of the Way for the Security of Others. An Amendment may be procur'd by a small Punishment; for he lives more carefully that has fomething yet to lofe: It is a Kind of Impunity, to be Incapable of a further Punishment. The Corruptions of a City are best cur'd by a Few and sparing Severities; for the Multitude of Offenders, creates a Custom of Offending, and Company authorizes a Crime, and there is more Good to be done upon a dissolute Age, by Patience than by Rigour: Provided that it pass not for an Approbation of ill Manners; but only as an Unwillingness to proceed to Extremities. Under a merciful Prince a Man will be affam'd to offend, because a Punishment that is inflicted by a gentle God vernour, feems to fall Heavier, and with more Reproach : And it is remarkable also, That those Sins are often Committed, which are very often punish'd. Caligula, in five Years, condemn'd more People to the Sack, than ever were before bim; and there were fewer Parricides before that Law against them than after. For our Ancestors did wisely presume that the Orime would never be committed, till by a Law for punifaing it; they found that it might be done. Parritides began with the Law against them, and the Punishment instructed Men in the Crime. Where there are few? Pupilithents, Innocency is indulg'd as a publick Good, and it is a dangerous Thing to

hew a City how strong it is in Delinquents. There is a certain Contumacy in the Nature of Man, that makes him oppose Difficulties. We are better to Follow than to Drive; as a generous Horse rides best with an easie Bit. People Obey willingly, where they are Commanded kindly. When Burrhus the Prefect was to Sentence two Malefactors, he brought the Warrant to Nero to fign: Who, after a long Reluctancy, came to't at last with this Exclamation, I would I could not Write. A Speech that deferv'd the whole World for an Auditory, but all Princes especially; and that the Hearts of all the Subjects would conform to the Likeness of their Masters. As the Head is Welf or Ill, fo is the Mind Dull or Merry. What's the Difference betwixt a King and a Tyrant, but a Diversity of Will, under one and the same Power? The One destroys for his Pleafure, the Other upon Necessity: A Distinction rather in Fact than in Name. A gracious Prince is arm'd as well as a Tyrant; but 'tis for the Defence of his People, and not for the Ruin of them. No King can ever have faithful Servants, that accultoms them to Tortures and Executions: The very Guilty themselves do not lead so anxious a Life as the Persecutors, for they are not only afraid of Justice, both Divine and Humane, but it is dangerous for them to mend their Manners; To that when they are once in, they must continue to be Wicked, upon Necessity. An universal Hatred unites in a popular Rage. A temperate Fear may be keep'd in Order; but when it comes once to be Continual and Sharp, it provokes People to Extremities, and transports them to desperate, Resolutions: As wild Beasts, when they are prest upon the Toya turn back, and affault the very Purfaiers. A turbulent Government is a perpetual Trouble both to Prince and People; and he that is a Telfor to all others, is not without Perror also himself. Frequent Punishments and Revenges may suppress the Planed of a Few, but then it firs up the Deteration of All. So that there's no defliving one Enemy, Without making many. It is good to Matter the Will of beto work upon. AU-

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A famous Instance of Augustus's Clemency. AUGUSTUS was a gracious Prince when he had the Power in his own Hand, but in the Triumviracy he made Use of his Sword, and had his Friends ready arm'd to set upon

12)

Anthony, during that Dispute. But he behav'd himself afterwards at another Rate; for when he was betwixt fourty and fifty Years of Age, he was told, That Cinna was in a Plot to Murther him, with the Time, Place, and Manner of the Defign, and this from one of the Confederates. Upon this, he resolv'd upon a Revenge, and sent for several of his Friends to advise upon't. The Thought of it keep'd him waking, to consider, that there was the Life of a young Nobleman in the Case, the Nephew of Pompey, and a Person otherwise Innocent. He was off and on feveral Times, whether he should put him to Death or not. What (fays he) Shall I live in Trouble, and in Danger my self, and the Contriver of my Death walk Free, and secure? Will nothing serve him but that Life which Providence has preserv'd in so many Civil Wars; in so many Battles both by Sea and Land; and now, in the State of an universal Peace too? And not a simple Murther neither, but a Sacrifice; for I am to be assaulted at the very Altar: And shall the Contriver of all this Villany scape unpunish'd? Here Augustus made a little Paule, and then recollecting himself: No, no, Cæsar, (says he) 'tis rather Cæsar than Cinna, that I'm to be angry with: Why do I my self live any longer, after that my Death is become the Interest of so many People? And if I go on, what End will there be of Blood, and of Punishment? If it be against my Life that the Nobility arms it self, and levels their Weapons, my single Life is not worth the While, if so many must be destroy'd, that I may be preserved. His Wife Livia gave him here an Interruption, and defir'd him, that he would for once hear a Woman's Counsel. Do (fays she) like a Physician, that when common Remedies fail, will try the Contrary : You have got nothing hitherto by Severity; after Salvidianus there follow'd Lepidus; after him Murana; Capio follow'd him, and Egnatius follow'd Capio: Try now what Mercy

Mercy will do Forgive Cinna. He is discover'd, and can do you no Hurt in your Person; and it will yet Advantage you in your Reputation. Augustus was glad of the Advice, and he gave Thanks for't; and thereupon countermanded the Meeting of his Friends, and order'd Cinna to be brought to him alone; for whom he caus'd a Chair to be set, and then discharg'd the rest of the Company. Cinna (/ays Augustus) before I go any further, you must promise not to give me the Interruption of one Syllable, till I have told you all I have to fay, and you shall have Liberty afterward to say what you please: You cannot forget, that when I found you in Arms against me, and not only Made my Enemy, but Born so, I gave you your Life and Fortune. Upon your Petition for the Priesthood, I granted it with a Repulse to the Sons of those that had been my Fellow-Souldiers; and you are at this Day so Happy, and so Rich, that even the Conquerors envy him that is Overcome; and yet after all this, you are in a Plot, Cinna, to Murther me. At that Word Cinna started, and interposed with Exclamations, That certainly he was far from being either so Wicked, or so Mad. This is Breach of Conditions, Cinna, (says Augustus) 'tis not your Time to speak yet. I tell you again, That you are in a Plot to Murther me; and so he told him the Time, the Place, the Confederates, the Order, and Manner of the Design, and who it was that was to do the Deed. Cinna upon this fix'd his Eyes upon the Ground, without any Reply; not for his Word-sake, but as in a Confusion of Conscience; and so Augustus went on. What (says he) may your Design be in all this? Is it that you would pretend to step into my Place? The Common-wealth were in anill Condition, if only Augustus were in the Way betwixt you and the Government. You were cast the other Day in a Cause, by one of your own Free-men; and do you expect to find a weaker Adversary of C. far? But, what if I were remov'd? There's Æmilius Paulus, Fabius Maximus, and twenty other Families of great Blood and Interest, that would never bear it. To cut off the Story short, (for it was a Discourse of about two Hours, and Augustus lengtht'ned the

the Punishment in Words, since he intended that should be all) Well Cinna (says he) the Life that I gave to you once, as an Enemy, I will now repeat it to a Traitor, and to a Paricide, and this shall be the last Reproach I'llgive you. For the Time to come, there shall be no other Contention between You and Me, than which shall Out-do the other in Point of Friendship. After this Augustus made Cinna Consul, (an Honour which he consess'd he durst not so much as desire) and Cinna was ever affectionately Faithful to him: He made Casar his Sole Heir, and this was the Last Conspiracy that ever was form'd against him.

Augustus's Moderation in Augustus, was the Excellency of his Mature Age; for in his Youth, he was Passionate and Sudden; and he did

many Things, which afterward he look'd back upon with Trouble: After the Battel of Actium, so many Navies broken in Sicily, both Roman and Strangers; the Perusian Altars, (where 300 Lives were Sacrific'd to the Ghost of Julius) his frequent Proscriptions, and other Severities; his Temperance at last seem'd to be little more than a Weary Gruelty. If he had not Forgiven those that he Conquer'd, whom should be have Govern'd? He chose his very Life-Guard from among his Enemies, and the Flower of the Romans owed their Lives to his Clemency. Nay, he only punish'd Lepidus himself with Banishment, and permitted him to wear the Enfigns of his Dignity, without taking the Pontificate to himself, To long as Lepidus was living; for he would not possess it as a Spoil, but as an Honour. This Clemency it was, that secur'd him in his Greatness, and ingratiated him to the People, tho' he laid his Hand upon the Government, before they had throughly submitted to the Yoke: And this Clemency it was, that has made nis Name Famous to Posterity. This is it that makes is reckon him Divine, without the Authority of an Apotheofis. He was fo Tender and Patient, that the many a bitter Jest was broken upon him (and Contumelies upon Princes, are the most Imollerable of all Injurier) yet he never

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never punish'd any Man upon that Subject. It is then Generous to be Merciful, when we have it in our Power to take

A Son of Titus Arius being examin'd and

Revenge.

Judgement of Aufound Guilty of Parricide, was banish'd Rome, and confin'd to Marfeilles, where his Father allow'd him the same Annuity that he had before; which made all People conclude him Guilty, when they faw that his Father had yet Condemn'd the Son that he could not Hate. Augustus was pleas'd to sit upon the Fact in the House of Aring, only as a fingle Member of the Counfel that was to examine it : If it had been in Cafar's Palace, the Judgement must have been Cafar's and not the Father's. Upon a full Hearing of the Matter, Cafar directed, That every Man should write: his Opinion, whether Guilty or Not, and without declaring of his Own for fear of a partial Vote. Before the opening of the Books, Cafar pass'd an Oath, That he would not be Arius his Heir: And to shew that he had no Interest in his Sentence, as appear'd afterward, for he was not condemn'd to the ordinary Punishment of Parricide, nor to a Prison, but, by the Mediation of Casar, only banish'd Rome, and confin'd to the Place which his Father Bould Name: Augustus insisting upon it, That the Father should content himself with an easie Punishment: And arguing, That the young Man was not mov'd to the Attempt by Malice, and that he was but half resolv'd upon the Fact, for he waver'd in it; and therefore to remove him from the City, and from his Father's Sight, would be fufficient. This is a glorious Mercy, and worthy of a Prince, to make all Things Gentler where-ever he comes. How miserable is that Man in himself, who when he has employ'd his Power in Rapines and Cruelty upon others, is yet more Unhappy in himself? He stands in fear both of his Domesticks, and of Strangers, the Faith of his Friends, and the Piety of his Children, and flies to actual Violence, to fecure him from the Violence he fears. When he comes to look about him, and to confider what he Has

done, what he Must, and what he is About to do; What with the Wickedness, and with the Torments of his Conscience, many Times he sears Death, oftner he wishes for't, and lives more Odious to himself, than to his Subjects: Whereas, on the Contrary, he that takes a Care of the Publick, tho' of one Part more perhaps than of another, yet there is not any Part of it, but he looks upon as Part of Himself. His Mir is Tender and Gentle, and even where Punishment is Necessary and Prositable, he comes to it Unwillingly, and without any Rancour, or Enmity in his Heart. Let the Authority, in fine, be what it will, Clemency becomes it. It is a truly Royal Virtue for a Prince, to deliver his People from Other Mens Anger, and Oppress them with his Own.

FINIS.

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Sight, acould be lithiciant, this is a glorious risky that worthy of a Prince, to make all Thicks Gentier when estimate comes. How milerally is that this intellect in male, at the her employ I his Power in lithings and the remainders, is yet more Unimpy in limitelf? He had in the both of his Domelicks, and of Strangers, the findice at Friends, and the Picty of his Chiking, are high to so that you rend to comes to look should him, the tolker his few to the first him from the Vinters he (with the first him for the first to the first him for the first him the formation that he formation the first him the formation that he formation the first him for the first him the formation that he formation the first him the

